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The boundaries between the lineage sections and between the homestead lots are well marked by stones, coconut and *pukamo* trees, and graves of ancestors. There is no record that a guard similar to the *pule* was used to protect these boundaries, which are nevertheless well known, well kept, and respected.

If a boundary tree dies or is blown down, another is immediately planted in its place and tended until it becomes an efficient boundary marker. People of the lot use only the trees growing on their own household lots for domestic purposes. If a nut drops from a tree growing on a homestead boundary and falls on the land of the next lot, it must be procured at once. If it is allowed to remain to grow into a tree across the boundary, the tree belongs to the man on whose land it grows. A person in theory has the right to keep nuts that have fallen on his property from trees growing across the boundary, but this is rarely done.

At the death of the household head, his house site and nut trees descend in the paternal line. The children of the deceased act as joint owners of the property through the trusteeship of the eldest male of the family. A man or a woman who may marry and live away from his or her paternal lot still has a claim to the nuts grown on the lot and expects to draw nuts from that lot in an emergency. Children of a man residing matrilocally retain an interest in their father's paternal lands. Children do not normally inherit coconut trees from their mother. According to Mitimoa, it was formerly the custom to divide coconut trees among men, giving them to women only when there were no sons in the family, but the custom today is to share coconut trees among both sons and daughters so that none will ever be deprived of nuts.

In former days, a well was sunk on each homestead lot for the use of the households living on the lot. Three lots in Yato still have their own wells, each used by the people of the lot. Others may draw water from these wells, but through courtesy right only, I think. If the water level in the well is low, outsiders drawing water are regarded with a somewhat unfriendly eye.

No story or legend is remembered which relates how the lineage sections or lots were originally formed. Pau believes that the paternal lineages of Ngake held *tutuki* contests at various times to settle boundaries, and cites as evidence the very irregular boundary lines. Loto informants have no memory of *tutuki* for the Loto sections, and add: "The Loto sections are so small and short, running across Wale as they do at its narrowest part, that they would not be worth quarreling about—the gain to one paternal group at the expense of the other would be so slight."

As a matter of speculation, it is likely that originally the people of the same paternal lineage congregated together on the same piece of land. Cemeteries would be placed there and boundaries marked off. Thus sections of land would come to be associated with certain lineages. But through patrilocal marital residence and personal choice,

[SW] 423 613 people other than blood members of the lineages would come to live on the sections. To protect the food supply of its own blood members, the lineage might well make the rule that certain nut trees were to be shared among all associated with the constituent lineages through blood, marriage or choice; whereas only members of the lineages by blood or adoption might plant and own trees on the *kave* section. This would prevent the removal of wealth from blood members of the lineages by friends and distantly related affinal relatives, who might come to live on the section. The land is thus effectively owned in common by the lineage corporation, though sole right to the produce of the trees remains with individual members of the corporation.

613 423 244 428 616 Both paternal and maternal lineages, the *po* and the *uua*, control small sections of talo beds. There is no legend as to the origin of this control. These beds were probably dug first on land controlled by the paternal lineage or by the maternal lineage if the maternal descent group was originally a more important unit of social organization, as evidence seems to indicate. Then, as new paternal or maternal lineages were set up by the breaking away of men and women from the basic groupings, certain talo lands were transferred to the new, minor lineages, from those controlled by the major group. The twenty-three talo gardens on Wale owned by the paternal and maternal lineages are all named. These gardens are divided among male and female members of the lineages. In the next generation, children retain a share in the mother's maternal lineage beds, but receive no shares in the mother's paternal lineage beds. Similarly, they retain shares in the father's paternal lineage beds, but none in his maternal lineage beds. The talo lands are controlled by the lineages as corporate entities, and are redivided from time to time to include new members of the corporation.

Individual Property

431 556 422 226 The wealth objects controlled by the individuals are few. A man may own a house and a house site, a canoe, fishing gear and implements, clothing, pearl-shell ornaments, trees, and talo beds. A woman owns mats, prepared pandanus, ornaments, trees, and talo beds. Small canoes, one-piece dugouts or plank canoes, are owned outright by one man. Larger canoes which have required much time to make and wealth to finance are owned by household groups, or groups of closely related kin. The oldest man of the kin group is spoken of as the nominal owner of such a canoe, but all the members of the group refer to it as "our canoe". If relatives or friends wish to use the canoe, they ask permission of the nominal owner. A young man who does not possess a canoe of his own borrows one from a friend. When the fisherman returns, he gives fish, usually the best and biggest of his catch, to the owner of the canoe in payment for its use. The fish reserved for this payment is termed *ika ya* (sacred fish). When one man is invited to accompany another in a fishing canoe, there is an equal division of the catch and no payment of *ika ya* is expected from the guest member of the canoe.

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[597] 851 621 602

the village of its adopting father. A child who is not adopted and who continues to reside with its parents in the village of birth may be "given" for economic or sentimental reasons to a male relative, blood or affinal, of either parent, to be affiliated by him with his village. A man refers to a child whom he sponsors in this fashion as his *tuunga tau*. If he were related only by marriage to the child's parents, he would nevertheless continue to sponsor the child even though he later divorced the woman through whom the relationship was traced. A person who is sponsored by a man in another village is closely united to him by ties of sentiment and interest, even though they live apart. A man would not willingly kill his enemy if the enemy had at one time been his *tuunga tau*, even though of distant relationship. (See story of Tuiva, p. 393.)

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The result of the practice of sponsored affiliation is a redivision of food between the three villages: persons not residing in a village receive through membership in it a share of its food, including its unique products (as Yato's fruits, limes and papayas; Loto's sugar cane; or Ngake's supplies of crabs).

591 261 621

In most households only one or two children of a large family affiliate away from the home village. Where there are only two or three children in the family they normally affiliate through their father. Sometimes, though rarely, a *tuunga tau* child takes up residence in the household of the man who sponsors him. This is acceptable to the household because it means a gain of extra food shares (*mai tuunga tau*). The food share of the individual is almost always more than he himself can eat at one time and so must be shared with other members of the household to avoid spoilage.

592

The shift of a member from one large household consisting mainly of young children to a small related household consisting of adults only is recorded. The motive of this exchange was to increase the food shares of the smaller household.

621 602 592

The following is an example of the application of village affiliation:

A widow who is head of a household (41 in table 5, p. 248) is sponsored in Loto by her brother. The oldest daughter is sponsored in Ngake by her mother's second brother, who resides there. The second daughter is sponsored in Loto by the mother's brother, who also sponsors the mother. The next child, a son, is sponsored in Loto by a distant relative of his mother. Another son, adopted but not living with his adopted father, is a *tuunga tau* of that man in Ngake. The next son, the only one affiliating in the village of residence, is a *tuunga tau* of his mother's sister's husband. The infant son affiliates in Ngake with the mother's brother. With no adult male food gatherer in the household, the affiliation arrangement of the children in all three villages brings in the maximum share in food divisions, as all but one member affiliate in Loto and Ngake, the two villages having the largest food reserves. The mother is also able to maintain close ties with her relatives in other villages so that she is not forgotten when a related fisherman makes a good catch. These results are all achieved without sacrificing children by adoption; when the children grow up, the mother is assured of ample support in her old age.

[888]

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The shift of an individual from one household to the next within the same village involves no change in village membership. The shift from a household in one village to one in a different village is accompanied by change of affiliation:

Each village holds an annual meeting to make up its membership rolls governing food divisions, organization of work, and composition of reserve land guards and contest teams for the succeeding year. At this time a man who wishes to change his affiliation or to take on a new affiliate from another village requests the head man of the village (today usually an Island Council member) to add his or the child's name to the village rolls. Village members discuss the names of applicants which are added to the village lists if no valid objection is offered. The new member, called a *mile* of the

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591 village to which he changes his affiliation, has equal rights with those whose membership is by birth or adoption.

621 On achieving sociological adulthood (*makatea, makamaniu*), a young man or woman may change (*wilo*) his village affiliation. Several boys have so changed village
613 affiliation. A man might break away from his paternal group against its wishes and join another village. Divided loyalties might cause difficulties with his fellow-villagers
884 and he would gain the reputation of being a trouble-maker or a lazy person. If he wished to rejoin the village of his birth, it would refuse to accept him or make unacceptable conditions of readmittance. The only course open to him would be to try to join
[578] the third village or to accept the conditions even if it meant the indignity of receiving a child's food share for one year.

No girl is known to have availed herself of her theoretical *wilo* privilege at the time of attaining adulthood. On marriage a woman automatically becomes a member of her husband's village to be sponsored by him, unless the couple take up matrilocal residence, in which exceptional case the husband becomes affiliated with his wife's village. No example of a husband and wife who affiliate in different villages is known.

The village in which a child is to affiliate may be determined by the likelihood of later inheriting talo beds or other properties in that village from the relative who is to sponsor it. Similarly a person may change his affiliation to the village in which he has come into possession of talo beds, house site, or coconut trees.

Informants suggested that formerly a man who became a new member of a village was expected sooner or later to change his residence to that village in order to reduce to a minimum talo-bearing, transfer of village secrets, plans, and policies, and the conflict of loyalties inevitably provoked by changing village allegiance. As long as change of residence accompanied change of affiliation, there was no objection to frequent change of membership. Indeed, if the new member was a champion in any sport his joining was welcomed by a village, though formerly when membership of competition teams was based on lineage affiliation, the new member often had to cut across these kinship ties because of village localization of paternal descent groupings. Change of residence does not often accompany change of village membership today, though with adults, it would be welcome as evidence of complete identification with the village joined.

621 Today, as formerly, a man without a village affiliation is lost and outcast.
132 One who gains an unenviable reputation for antisocial conduct has to accept
626 humiliation in order to secure a status, however slight, in the island community. There are no records of men without village affiliation. Village
558 membership is evidently a fundamental necessity of Pukapukan social life.

MATERNAL LINEAGES

613 The *uwa* is a maternal lineage which embraces several maternal sub-
616 lineages each of which is called a *heinanga*. By lineage is meant a unilateral group of real blood kin. The *uwa* is not to be confused with the maternal side of the bilateral kinship group. Descent within the *uwa* is strictly maternal, whereas the maternal side of the bilateral kin grouping refers to
615 both maternal-maternal and maternal-paternal descent lines. *Wua* means
616 the life-generating female organs, and its extension to a definite maternal social grouping is a recognition of the importance of maternal descent as a
124 cohesive principle which binds together the members of the group. Membership is by birth, with certain qualifications relating to adoption (p. 255).
773 The origin of the *uwa* was discussed with informants on several different

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Neither paternal lineage nor sub-lineage was exogamous or endogamous. Intra-marriage was governed by rules of consanguinity. No totem objects or prestige symbols were associated with any of the paternal lineages. Certain gods were associated with the paternal groups. (See p. 308.)

The amount of lineage localization in the two villages for which information is available is comparatively large, as is to be expected from the operation of the rule of patrilocal marital residence. Of 39 male heads of households in Ngake whose residence is patrilocal, 37 men or 95 percent are members of the two Ngake paternal lineages, Muliwutu and Matanga. In Yato, 27 out of 33, or 82 percent, are members of the three Yato paternal lineages, Yamaunga, Yayi, and Yalongo.

There is no mythological account of the origin of the patrilineal lineages. Informants make the simple statement that after the seismic wave that devastated the island thirteen generations ago, only 15 men and their families were left of the original population. From these men the present population has descended. Seven of the men founded anew and named patrilineal lineages from which, by a process of fissure when numbers became great, other minor sub-lineages split off. Nothing is known of the lineages previous to the seismic wave, but informants presume that there were in existence similar named patrilineal lineages.

Various instances of irregular lineage membership came to my attention:

Children of a Pukapukan woman and a non-Pukapukan husband, white or native, go to the mother's cemetery for burial; the husband also acquires membership in his wife's paternal lineage.

One Pukapukan whose wife is deceased, has remained, together with his children, in residence in the household of his father-in-law. For reasons of sentiment, he has arranged with his father-in-law for himself and his children to be buried in his late wife's cemetery, the cemetery of his father-in-law.

The child (*tama to taka*) of an unmarried mother is a member of its mother's paternal lineage, unless later adopted by the mother's husband when she marries. A child conceived out of wedlock, but born after its mother's marriage to a man not the physiological father of the child, is regarded as the child of his mother's husband and is a member of his paternal lineage; the husband becomes the sociological father of the child.

X is a *tama to taka*, adopted into the paternal lineage of his maternal grandfather's father. His grandfather does not belong to that group, having been adopted into another. X's mother belongs to the lineage into which her father was adopted. Wishing for sentimental reasons that her son and offspring go to the same cemetery as her father, she is going to substitute for her son, and be herself buried in the lineage-cemetery into which he was adopted, so that he and his line may exchange groupings with her.

Only one instance is on record of sharing children between the lineages of the father and of the mother. The siblings—father, father's sister, father's brother—in household 45 of table 5, all belong to the paternal lineage of their mother. Three siblings, now dead, all went to the father's paternal lineage. No adoption was involved in this division of the children among the two groups. It was specifically described as an idiosyncrasy on the part of both parents for which no motivations could be advanced today, as the arrangement was made about 55 years ago. It is possible that the division was influenced by southern Cook Islands practice.

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(a)

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Household	1 A	2 M	3 C	4 M Ch	5 Son's Wife	6 Son's Wife's Br	7 Son's Wife's Br's Ch	8 Son's Ch	9 Fr Wife	10 Fr Ch	11 M Bro's Wife	12 M Sister's Ch	13 Fr M	14 Fr F	15 Fr Br
1	+	+	+		+										
2	+	+	+	+				+		+					
3	+	+	+	+					+						
4	+	+		+											
5	+	+	+	+					+						
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Table 5. Household Composition (4)

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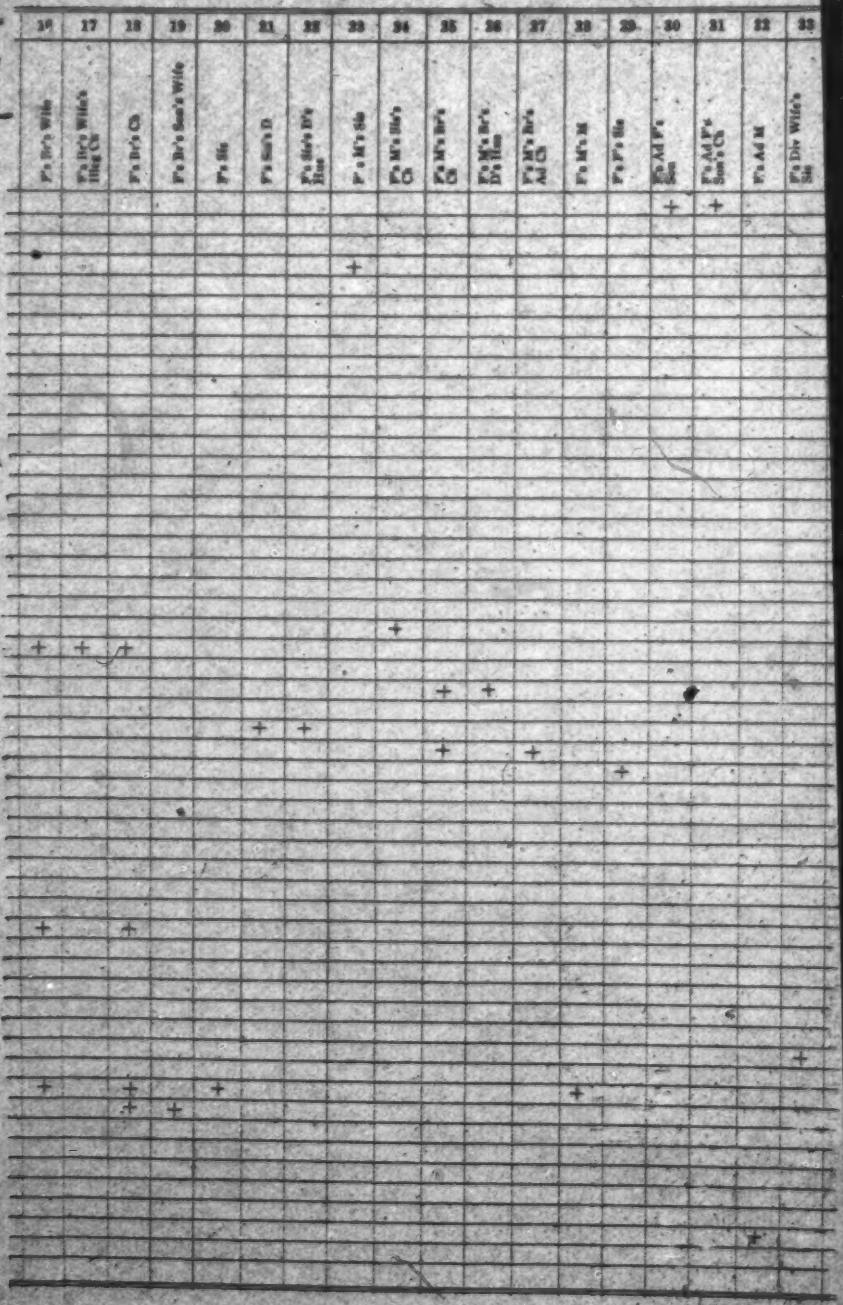

(c)

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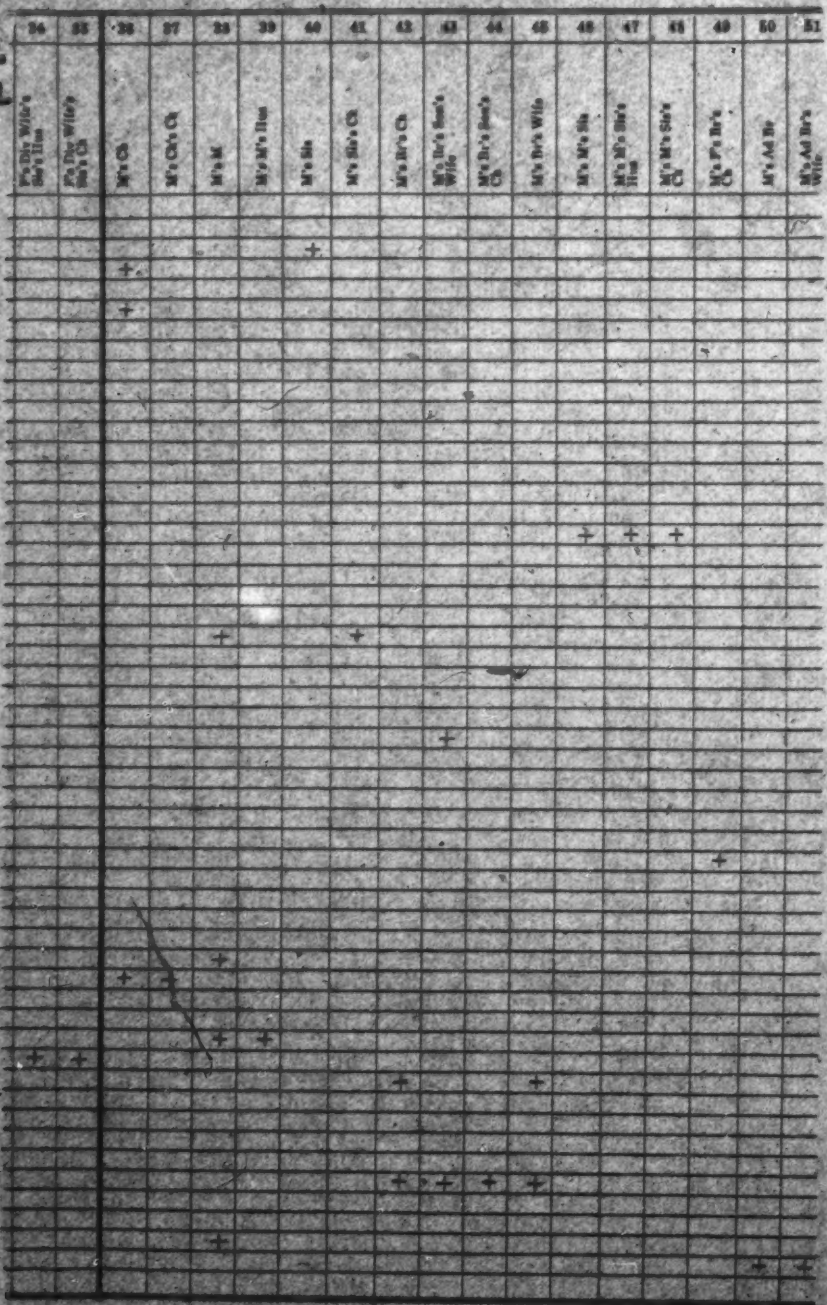

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592 wants. It happens that their father-in-law has, until recently, been the acting Catholic missionary and may thus have wished to hold them with him in the new faith. Another daughter and daughter's husband sleep in the same household, but cook and eat with the husband's mother, that is, patrilocally, on another lot.

The widow in household 16 who lives in her deceased husband's house is considered the owner of the house which she has inherited from her husband.

Household 43 is anomalous in being composed of a man and his divorced wife's sister, her husband, and children. This woman and her family resided with her sister and her husband before their divorce, and have since continued to reside there through personal choice. The lot of the father borders on that of the parents of the woman's husband, and the whole household shares a cook house with household 44 next door, in which the mother's brothers are deceased.

The group composing household 49 sleeps in one large house and is considered a complete household, although the cook house is shared with household 50, where there is no senior wife and where the junior wife has only recently come to live.

The mother (household 51) living alone represents a further anomaly. This woman is a spinster of about 35, who has little prospect for marriage. Her parents are deceased, and she lives in a house built for her in Yato by her relatives. She sleeps in this house, but eats in neighboring houses wherever her services are for the moment required. Part of the time she lives with relatives in Ngake.

General observation of the households indicated that their composition remained relatively stable. Such breaks in the social fabric as death, marriage, divorce, birth, adoption, and weaning cause a slight rearrangement of numbers, rarely of fundamental composition. Personal choice may also dictate a new arrangement, especially changes due to conflict with the majority
591 members of the group. There is nothing in Pukapuka resembling the Samoan freedom whereby children, as soon as they walk, change their residence and feeding houses among the larger kindred grouping according to personal whim. In Pukapuka, the residence of children away from the household of the blood parents is accounted for by definite sociological mechanisms, such as adoption or weaning. The only exception noted is a little girl who eats, works, and lives during the day with her blood parents, but sleeps, apparently by preference, with a friend of her own age in the house next to that of her blood parents.

592 The 54 households included in the census have a total membership of
162 348 people. This gives an average membership of 6.44 persons per household. Omitting the anomalous household in which there is only one member, the average for 53 households, with a total membership of 347, is 6.5 persons per household. The variation in numerical composition of the households is shown below:

Persons per household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	18
Number of households	1	2	9	5	5	7	7	6	4	2	3	1	1	1

592 Households with a numerical membership of 3 to 8 persons account for
557 72.3 percent of the total number of households.

In an attempt to work out the effect of adoptions on the numerical com-
162 position of the household, 32 households were studied in which adoption

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occurred, both of leaving children (*tama mangai*) and of children out of (*tama kohoti*), either with loss or with gain in membership to the household.

In these 32 households there is a total of 48 *tama kohoti* and 10 *tama mangai*, adopted into, or away from a household. In 5 households one child was adopted while another was lost by adoption, the balance being the same. Nine households gained one member each, 4 households gained 2 each, one household gained 3, and another gained 4 members. In 6 households one member was lost by adoption, in 5 households 2 were lost, and in 1 household 3 were lost. The average membership in 32 households after the adoptions have taken place is 6.1 persons. Had adoptions not taken place, the average membership would have been 5.9 persons. It is clear that adoptions work, however slightly, toward bringing the household composition nearer to the average membership for the total number of households.

Informants gave patrilocal residence as the rule for marriage. Census data established the pattern, with variations due to personal choices and convenience. In order to learn whether patrilocal residence is also the rule for household groupings of kin outside the biological family, special inquiries were made in conjunction with the census. Patrilocal residence is defined as the residence in a household of persons whose membership is based on a relationship to the male head of the household, provided the household head is himself living patrilocally. Where a husband resides matrilocally, any person living in his and his wife's household, whose membership in that household is based only on relationship to the husband and who is not also related to his wife, is also taken to be living matrilocally. Adopted persons are considered as living in accord with patrilocal rule, save that where the father lives matrilocally the adopted children also live matrilocally, because they are equally related to the mother of the household. Of a total of 348 people coming under the census, 287 (82.4 percent) are living patrilocally. For the material under discussion, the households which include persons residing in accordance with patrilocal rule do not greatly outnumber those which include persons residing matrilocally. But when residence is evaluated in terms of the number of individuals, the rule as to the prevailing tendency toward patrilocal residence is made clear. Accurately to represent the situation, table 5 should indicate individuals and not cases. With this caution, however, it will not be misinterpreted.

Analysis of the foregoing data shows the importance of distinguishing clearly between matrilocal or patrilocal marital residence on the one hand, and matrilocal or patrilocal kin residence on the other hand. Too often these two types of residence are confused. Marital and kin residence may or may not correspond. What appears to happen in general is that, in a matrilineal society, other things being equal, marital and kin residence tend to follow the same pattern, and vice versa in a patrilineal society. However, a sufficient number of deviations occur to give the tendency in marital residence a different degree of incidence from the tendency in kin residence. This

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derives, first, from the importance of the bilateral kin group, which should not be underestimated whether the society is patrilocal or matrilocal; second, from the fact that the people who cause a formal social organization to function are people of flesh and blood, heirs to any number of personal idiosyncrasies, preferences, hates, loves and jealousies, the interrelations of which twist formal rules to serve the logic of life. If a person wishes to live in a particular household—for whatever reason—he does so, whatever his kinship with the family head, and whatever the society rule. Behavior may be labeled as deviation only after the rule has been established by analysis of census material. It is important to remember that marriage invariably joins together two kinship groups in an alliance which is usually cooperative and friendly. Once the fact of this alliance is socially recognized, the way is open for the operation of the largest measure of personal choice in household residence, if personal factors render it impossible to live in accordance with the pattern of the society.

ADOPTION

The two types of adoption in Pukapuka are complete adoption (*koloti*, to cut) and partial or feeding adoption (*uungai*, to feed). The adopting parents are *matua koloti*, the child *tama koloti*. Complete adoption usually involves change of residence and change of patrilineal descent. The feeding parents are known as *matua uungai*, the child as *tama uungai*. Feeding adoption usually involves change of residence, but never change of descent line. The Pukapukan does not consider that a child receiving village food shares under the agency of a man not his father is adopted by that man. (See pp. 219-220.)

The reasons for adoption are both personal and economic. The personal motive is the desire of a childless man to ensure the continuation of his patrilineal descent line. Economic incentives include the desire of a childless couple for the food shares that an adopted child brings into the household, for taro beds and coconut trees from the child's blood group (in adoption after infancy, a matter of arrangement) or for someone to care for them in their old age. Frequency of adoption and residence variants are indicated by an analysis of material collected in the household census:

Of the total of 396 persons of all ages included in the census, 80 (20.9 percent) have at some time been adopted by the *koloti* adoption. Of 209 persons of a generation below that of mother and father in the households, 43 (20.5 percent) are *tama koloti*. Of the remaining 166 persons, 13 (7.8 percent) are *tama uungai* living with their feeding parents. The percentage of *tama uungai* in the total of 209 persons of the generation below mother and father is 6.22. Of the 43 who are completely adopted (*tama koloti*) in this generation level, 18 have continued in residence with their blood parents without going to live with the adopting parents.

The reason for the non-change of residence of two of the *tama koloti* is their tender age: they are not yet weaned. The adopting mother of one of these infants has meno-

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while died and it is presumed that this child will continue indefinitely to live with his own parents while being considered a member of the adopting father's lineage. In a third case, the reason is the illness of both adopting parents. In another, the adopting father is a very old man, unable to care for the child. He had previously also adopted the child's father, who lived with him as a boy. A further case did not involve a change of residence on the part of the adopted child because the adopting father is the husband of the child's maternal grandmother, with whom the child's unmarried mother lives. The reason given in two other cases is the death of the adopting parent or his wife. In the remaining five cases, involving eleven *tama hokoti*, no explanation could be offered by informants, though it is likely that the personal preferences of the blood and adopting parents were deciding factors.

Generally the *tama hokoti* is adopted before birth:

When a couple decides to adopt, they go to the selected parents at the time the mother is about three months pregnant. They say: "We wish to adopt this child as a *tama hokoti*," and then specify whether the sex of the child will make any difference. The blood parents discuss the matter with the paternal and maternal grandparents and with their bilateral kinship groups, to see if there is any objection to breaking a descent line, or whether any other friend or relative has a prior claim on the child. If agreement is reached, the adopting parents are informed, and from this time on they are required to feed the pregnant mother with the best of foods and to make special provision for her family whenever there is a food division.

The child's birth takes place in the house of the blood father, unless the house of the adopting father is close by, in which event delivery may take place in that house. Both adopting parents are present at the delivery as a matter of course, because of the fiction that it is really their child that is being born. All the relatives of the adopting parents make a point of being present for the same reason. It is the adopting group that renders all the necessary assistance to the parturient woman. The blood father and relatives may also be present, but only as onlookers who take no part in the confinement proceedings. After the child's birth, the adopting parents continue to be responsible for the mother and for the child. They provide the birth feast and the names for the new child.

Thereafter the mother nurses the child, who remains with her exclusively until time for weaning. Food gifts to the mother continue throughout the feeding period. At weaning, the adopting parents take formal possession of their child. A small feast marks the handing over; the adopting parents make gifts of valuables, pearl-shell hooks, malos, etc., to the blood group. This completes the adoption, and henceforth the child lives with the adopting parents. The blood parents give up all control over the child, and the child in turn assumes all the duties and responsibilities of its position as *tama hokoti* to the adopting parents.

As distinguished from a *tama hokoti*, the feeding child (*tama unuai*) goes without ceremony to live with the adopting parents, who feed him. He helps his feeding parents, and brings to their household the food shares he receives from the village divisions. The relationship begins when the child is sent to relatives to be weaned:

Through a mixture of personal and economic motives, relatives may decide to keep a feeding child with them. The matter is discussed with the blood parents and decided upon, usually an easy matter, as no change of lineage membership is involved. The child remains a member of his home village. If he is taken by relatives in another village, he brings to this household foods in which the adopting village is deficient. Thus the adopting parents participate in a supply of food that would otherwise be denied them. If the adopting parents come to favor the feeding child, they make arrangements to turn

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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When several paternal lineages had been holding a period of seclusion at the same time, the boys' parade took them to the god house of one of the lineages, where a *kaitau lukipoko* contest was held. Each boy of the home lineage knelt with his back to a post of the god house and performed the *lupe* ritual (p. 322), beating his thighs with his hands. When the people of the other lineages heard the boys at their ritual, they sent their own *kaitau* boys to the same god house. On arriving, each boy of the second group crouched down in the customary half-bent position, beating his knees and thighs, and, making the sound "br-r-r" with his lips, advanced to one of the kneeling boys. The two locked shoulders. The challenger tried to push the kneeling boy away from the post, while his opponent tried to push him over and still retain his position by the post. The boy pushed away lost the contest and retired. The winner of a contest might go to the help of another boy of his lineage still engaged. He helped his friend, grasping him round the waist from behind and pushing with all his strength so that their combined weight might overcome the opponent. Insofar as the opponent might also be supported, strenuous contests resulted. The *kaitau* group that vanquished the most boys of the opposing group won the contest for their lineage. The defeated lineage had to wait till a later *kaitau lukipoko* to avenge its disgrace. The struggle over, the boys returned to normal group life.

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Informants were vague as to the significance of the *kaitau lukipoko*. It is likely that values besides the mere sporting ones have a place in its symbolism. The significance of its association with the god house where the priests were accustomed to worship the gods, and the employment of the *lupe* technique customarily reserved for putting the priest *en rapport* with his god, is obscure, and I have no cultural rationalization to offer other than my own speculation that the contest was originally a feature of religious initiation following on the initiation into manhood, which has been lost to the present generation of Pukapukans.

Young Men's and Young Women's Houses

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In everyday activities there is little difference between the life of the youth and that of the young adult. Young men and women are expected to engage more seriously in work, the boys fishing, the girls helping consistently with household duties. In the realm of sex they are now considered mature enough to lead sexual lives. For this and other purposes they might formerly leave the family house and live in *wale lopa* or *wale tamawine* (young men's or young women's houses) with companions of their own age and sex. It does not appear that these houses had the institutional character associated with the bachelor houses of Melanesian communities. There was nothing obligatory about membership in them. The way in which a young men's house might be formed was explained by informants as follows:

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A boy or girl might invite one or more friends to come and live with him at his parents' house. Some parents might not object, as living in the house implied obligations to assist in providing food and brought extra food shares to the household. On the other hand, a parent might object to having several young men (*lopa*) or women (*tamawine*) around his house, especially if they were lazy, and would tell his son or daughter to go build a house elsewhere, where he or she could live with friends without annoying anyone. The house was built on any convenient site—on land owned by the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

child, the parent, or one of the friends. The young men or women used their house as a lounging and sleeping house while continuing to eat their meals with their parents, to assist them in the general tasks of food getting. A parent who did not want his child to leave home would tell his child's friends to betake themselves elsewhere.

For the most part, young men and women stayed at home, lived with their parents, and assisted with the tasks of the family. A child who stayed at home was a *tama pili matua* (child close to parent). A favorite child (*tama wakacmaema*, *tama yele*, or *mayni*) was never permitted to live in a young men's house, especially if the parents, wishing to make a good marriage for the child, had gone to the trouble of graduating it from the house of seclusion. On the other hand, wayward children were not hindered if they wished to live with their friends. Residence in a young men's or young women's house was continued until marriage or until vagaries of personal choice sent the young person back to live with relatives. The present resident agent in the interests of morality does not allow unmarried young people to reside in young men's or women's houses, and this type of living arrangement has been officially discarded.

CULTURAL ATTITUDES TOWARD SEX

Once a Pukapukan boy or girl has attained adult status, he or she is at liberty to have sexual experience irrespective of marriage, which indeed usually comes much later in the life of the adult and only when he is ready to assume the specific economic responsibilities that marriage entails. It is a matter of no importance that a girl or a bride should be a virgin. There is no word in the language to characterize such a physiological state. Rather has a woman who has borne a child out of wedlock by this act proved herself able to bear her husband heirs to carry on his paternal descent line. A girl for whom parents wished a particularly good marriage found a certain but minor emphasis on the importance of preserving virginity, but this was more a matter of preventing her from attaining a reputation for being promiscuous than a matter of interest in her virginity. That the sacred maid (*mayakitanga*) of the chief was barred from sexual intercourse of any nature throughout her life was perhaps due to the religious functions she had to perform and was, at any rate, exceptional.

For the ordinary girl there is nothing in Pukapuka approaching the institutionalized rupturing of the hymen by an elder which occurs elsewhere in Polynesia, nor is there any institutionalized instruction of the adolescent in sex matters. Knowledge was obtained by the boy or girl through personal experimentation with members of the opposite sex. Informants remarked that a virgin who wishes to save her lover the trouble will digitally rupture her own hymen before going to him. But this is a matter of individual choice.

61 Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca. 1935)1941 Pukapukans

854 [857] the temptation of watching a group of her companions playing games on the beach. Then she carries the infant along with her, comforted gently in her arms.

As the infant grows older, it is gradually stripped of its baby coverings and lies naked on its mat. It then spends most of its time lying, sitting, and wriggling round beside the mother while she sits at her cooking or mat plaiting or else asleep within the cool house a few feet away. At this early age the child is good humoredly cleaned whenever it soils itself. Any older person in the household, male or female, who happens to be near the child at the time 853 performs this task. Besides being fed whenever it shows signs of hunger, the child is always 868 given the breast to comfort it and pacify it whenever it appears frightened or in pain. The child is comforted and petted in this way whenever it falls during the process of learning to walk.

552 The household into which the child is born consists on an average of between six and seven persons. The basis of this group generally consists of the biological family of mother, father, and one or more children. The most common additional member is generally an adult son's wife. Thereafter adopted children and relatives of almost every possible degree of relationship help to add to the group's number.

The composition of this household remains relatively stable throughout the child's life. Such breaks in the social fabric as death, marriage, divorce, birth, adoption, weaning cause a slight rearrangement of numbers, rarely of fundamental composition. Children practically [591] never change their residence or feeding house among a larger kindred group according to per- 854 sonal whim. It may be noted from this that the Pukapukan child is brought up in a definite 593 type of household group; its contacts while young within the household are rather narrowly defined in range. The child is mainly cared for by its mother. The father has no specific duties to perform. He is sympathetic and lavish in his affection for his child, caring for it, however, only when it is necessary or convenient. During much of its waking life the infant is fondled and carried by any male or female relatives or friends who happen to be visiting or working at the parents' house. Authority over the infant is largely focussed in the mother. Love, dependence, and affection on the other hand tend to diffuse themselves among many members of or visitors to the household. This fact and those patterns relating to infancy already given may well be emphasized because they do suggest that up to the time of weaning the infant is enabled to develop emotional attitudes that give the utmost possible psychological security. And this security stands the infant in good stead not only throughout the gradual process of building up its early habit patterns, but also at the time of weaning. Pukapukan infancy up to the time of weaning, that is, seems to be marked by a very minimum of frustration in regard to basic physiological and emotional needs.[9]

[9] In Pukapuka, we also strongly suspect, but cannot demonstrate, the fact that the lineage (here a paternal lineage) extends and deepens the sense of belongingness and safety assured first by the infant from a mother's cuddling. Besides its many sociological functions, therefore, the Pukapukan lineage tends to serve as a psychological device in this culture whereby a security and place of belonging are obtained by the child which transcends the immediate confines and experience of the family-household. Compare Beaglehole, *op. cit.*, pp. 229–31; James S. Plant, *Personality and the Cultural Pattern* (New York, 1937), pp. 152–53.

524 177 first at the tuku in the ala. If he hits both tuku, he may try for his opponents' tamou and if he hits this also, then he wins this. If he misses the first time, then his opponent shoots with his tamou.

The toy bow and arrow is used as children's sport today. The bow is made with tua niu bound together with continuous thread of lauwala. The bow string is uka. The arrows, ti, are tua niu. The bow is wena. A heap of puapua seeds is put in the center of the ring. Children sit in a circle and fire arrows at the seeds. Each seed impaled by the arrow counts one point to the child who shot the arrow. No game was played during our visit, but was described thus by informants.

181 888 Miscellaneous.

For the man, it is important to marry and have children, that the paternal descent line may be continued. For himself and the next generation, a man likes to have a house, one or more canoes. He may sow sexual wild oats in abundance in his youth, and this applies also to the women. But in old age, the ideal is to live to a ripe old age, and then to retire from active work, to be surrounded by a crowd of children and grandchildren, and to spend one's days in active talk with one's contemporaries, directing the activities of the lopa group.

539 [See 3: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 65--analyst.] As the men advance with the canoe cortege outside the reef, mako and wave the paddles, the following mako is the one that is sung:

E lapaki te woe alua ma no
Kateli ka kina yai yo yio
Ke te ta ko yio yio
Ke tangi te titi oyio yio
Ke tangi te lawa oyio yio
Koa lelei ka koa lelei ka
Taku pupune ia.....

621 591 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 221--analyst] In the case of matrilocal residence of the male, or even in the case of customary patrilocal residence, the man may wish to tau [affiliate] in the village of his wife. In the former case, residence takes care of itself, but in the latter case, he will continue to live patrilocally, but join his adopted village for play, copra making, food divisions, etc.

244 Today there is a tendency for the people to pull and eat the talo before the plant is fully mature and ready to eat, often